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DECEMBER MEETING, 1882.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the President in the chair. There was a large attendance of members to welcome Mr. Winthrop on his return from an eight months' absence in Europe.

The record of the previous meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian reported the monthly list of donors to the Library. The gifts included the privately printed work of an associate member, Mr. Williams Latham, "Epitaphs in Old Bridgewater, Massachusetts."

The Cabinet-keeper reported the gifts to the Cabinet, and also that the valuable collection of autographs given to the Society by the children of Mrs. Grenville Temple Winthrop, in June, 1879, and referred at that time to a committee for examination and arrangement, was now returned, carefully mounted and bound in seven thick volumes. The thanks of the Society were voted to Judge Chamberlain, under whose supervision the work had been performed, and that gentleman was requested to prepare an account of these autographs for publication in the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that Messrs. Putnam and Bugbee had accepted their elections as Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows:—

I heartily wish, Gentlemen, that I could command any adequate phrases at this moment for expressing how glad I am, and how grateful to a kind Providence, in finding myself once more at home, and once more in this long-accustomed seat with so many familiar and friendly surroundings. I have, indeed, seen much and enjoyed much since I left you last March,—wonders of nature and of art, splendid cities, glorious mountains, and illustrious men of more than one land. Yet I can honestly say that, on my own account only, I would willingly have foregone all such experiences, and that no return could have been too early for my personal satisfaction. An absence of eight full months, I need not say, has made a considerable rent in the little remnant of life which I can reasonably count upon. It has certainly cut the continuity of any historical pursuits in which I was engaged or interested, and left it not altogether easy for me to gather up

the scattered or broken threads even for so informal an occasion as this. But I will not appeal to your indulgence, as I know it will be granted without being asked for.

Meantime, I rejoice to know that there has been no break in the well-being of our old Society. It has been a great pleasure to me to learn, from month to month, of its undiminished prosperity, and of its new volumes and serials; and I desire at once to return my thanks, and your thanks, also, to our worthy Vice-President, Dr. Ellis, for his faithful and felicitous occupancy of the chair. We have lost, indeed, from our roll of Resident, or of Corresponding and Honorary, Members, more than one of those most loved and most honored by us all. I need not name them. They are fresh in all our hearts and on all our lips, and the choicest tributes have already been paid to their memories by those whose praises they would most have prized, and who have hardly left one appropriate or affectionate word to be added by others. Nothing, certainly, could have been more exhaustive or more exquisite than the notices of Emerson and Longfellow, by some of their associates here. They have been read with appreciation and admiration abroad, as well as at home, as I have had the best opportunity of knowing. And hardly less impressive or less touching were the tributes paid here and elsewhere to the life and character of good Dr. Chandler Robbins, so long one of our most devoted and effective workers, and one whom no disabilities or infirmities could keep away from our meetings to the last. As I look back upon our Society, through more than a quarter of a century, to the days when I succeeded Mr. Savage as President, the forms of George Livermore and Richard Frothingham and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff and Chandler Robbins — all now gone — rise at once to my view, in company with at most two or three others still spared to us, and whose modesty I will not wound by naming them, as the little band to whose efforts we are most indebted for whatever prosperity we have since enjoyed.

But I will not dwell longer on any thing sad or retrospective this afternoon. Let me rather turn at once to welcome the new associates who have succeeded to so many vacant chairs since I went away; and let me express the confident hope that they may fulfil all the promises which led to their selection, and add new vigor to the ranks of our working members. Those ranks have long needed recruiting. We can part, if in the providence of God it must be so, with our philosophers and poets and orators, sacred or secular, much as we may deplore their loss, and much as we may miss the

prestige which their names have given to our rolls, and the delight of their occasional participation in our proceedings ; but the practical work of our Society must always have those who are able and willing to perform it. Those we can never spare. Nor ought we ever to be unmindful of so great a need, in filling the places of those who pass away.

Turning abruptly now from this merely introductory matter, I hasten to refer briefly to one or two incidents of my tour which are not without historical interest. And first, I desire to express the special satisfaction I took in procuring, at the request of Dr. Deane and Mr. Winsor, a perfect reproduction by photography of the old map in the National Library of France, commonly known as the Map of Sebastian Cabot, and which bears the date of 1544. A recent writer on "The English in America," Mr. J. A. Doyle, a Fellow of All-Souls, Oxford, of whose volume I procured a copy just as I was leaving London, in his notice of Sebastian Cabot, says that "he published maps and documents," but that they are now "unhappily lost." In his appendix, however, he refers distinctly to this map as attributed to Cabot, while he raises the question whether the inscriptions could possibly have been written by him. I do not propose to discuss this question. The first copy of the map was presented here last month, or the month before the last, in pieces, or, as the French style them, in separate *clichés*, and there is a copy here to-day made up and mounted. It has been referred to a committee of experts, and it will be for them to pronounce upon any disputed or doubtful points. Meantime, I allude to the subject now only for the purpose of putting on our records an acknowledgment of the kind reception I met with at the Bibliothèque Nationale, from M. Léopold Delisle, a member of the Institute, and the Administrator General of the Library ; from M. Thiéry, the Custodian of the Prints, to whose department the old map belongs ; and from M. Letort, to whom Dr. Deane had sent me a letter. All these gentlemen manifested a cordial interest in the work. As a part of the arrangement, two copies of the mounted photograph were retained by the Library, agreeably to the rules in all such cases ; and thus it is pleasant to know that, through our intervention, there will henceforth be some assurance, that if any accident should happen to the precious original, a perfect copy will be in the way of preservation on both sides of the Atlantic. I must not fail, in this connection, to mention the name of M. Sauvanaud, the skilful photographer, who took the greatest pains with the work, and

who counted the result as a signal triumph of his art. One of the copies reserved for the Bibliothèque Nationale, as I understood from M. Sauvanaud, was to be exhibited at some public Exposition in Paris, as a sample of his most successful photography.

I turn, secondly, to an interesting incident in connection with the memory of the famous Sir Walter Raleigh. You have not forgotten, I am sure, the leading part taken by this Society in obtaining the necessary funds for a stained glass window, commemorative of Sir Walter, in old St. Margaret's, Westminster, where his remains, except the head, said to have been kept by his wife till her death, were buried. More than half the cost of that window came from Historical Societies and students of history in this country, in immediate response to our appeal, and was remitted to England under my own hand as your President. The rest of the contribution came also from Americans abroad or at home; and the window, a very large and magnificent one, was thus received and recognized as an American tribute to the great promoter of American colonization. It happened, by a most fortunate arrangement, and without any previous knowledge or anticipation on my part, that the unveiling of this window had been fixed for one of the days included in my brief visit to London; and it has already been mentioned here, I believe, that I was privileged to witness the unveiling, and to hear the brilliant discourse of Canon Farrar, the Rector of St. Margaret's, on Sunday, the 14th of May last. Our associate member, the American Minister, Mr. Lowell, was present also, and had written these four lines of poetry which were inscribed on the glass:—

“The New World's sons, from England's breasts we drew
Such milk as bids remember whence we came;
Proud of her Past, wherefrom our Present grew,
This Window we inscribe with Raleigh's name.”

This inscription, with a photograph of the window, will be found in the printed copy of Canon Farrar's sermon, of which I sent a copy to our Library many weeks ago.

But this was not my only or most noteworthy association with the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh during my recent tour. On my return to London from the Continent in October last, when I had called to see our accomplished Corresponding Member, Mr. Henry Stevens, to make inquiries on another subject, he at once referred to a communication of

mine to this Society in September, 1873, in which I had given the speech of Raleigh on the scaffold, as I had found it in an old commonplace book of Governor Winthrop's father; and he added that he had recently discovered, among the manuscript papers of the old astronomer and philosopher, Thomas Hariot, or Harriote, who was a confidential friend of Sir Walter, and had once resided in his family, a little writing which he believed to be the very Brief, or "Note of Remembrance," referred to in the reported speech, and which Raleigh must have held in his hand on the scaffold. Mr. Stevens begged me to accompany him to the British Museum, where the papers of Hariot are carefully preserved, to see this Brief. The day for our visit was fixed to suit my convenience, without any reference to dates. We were readily admitted to the Manuscript Department of the Museum, and the "Note of Remembrance" was soon forthcoming. It is on a little slip of Hariot's paper, "somewhat crumpled and soiled," and plainly in his own handwriting. Mr. Stevens is engaged in writing a Life of Hariot, of which I have seen a preparatory proof-sheet as far along as the 138th page. In it he, of course, includes an account of this "precious little waif," as he calls it, and gives most cogent, if not positively conclusive, reasons for believing that Hariot was with Raleigh in the Gate House on the night before his execution, and took down these notes from Sir Walter's own lips to aid him in recalling what he most wished to say before he died. The Brief conforms so nearly to the report of the speech, as we have it, as to give strong confirmation to this idea; and I could not help feeling that I was looking on the very paper which poor Sir Walter had held in his hand at the last moment before he laid his head so bravely on the block. Before we had completed our examination we discovered that, by a striking and wholly accidental coincidence, the date of our visit to the Museum, — 28th October — was the precise anniversary date of that last night, after the trial and before the execution, during which the Notes are believed to have been dictated and prepared, — the night of Oct. 28, 1618.

I think we shall all hope that the Life of Hariot may not much longer be delayed. He was certainly one of the most remarkable men of his age. Hallam, in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," speaks of him as having made "the last great discovery in the pure science of algebra," and gives countenance to the charge that the famous Descartes had borrowed much from him without acknowledgment. It will not be forgotten that in 1585 he was sent out to Virginia,

with Sir Richard Grenville, by Raleigh himself, and that his account of that enterprise, dedicated to Sir Walter, is among the most precious things in De Bry's Voyages. But his intimate relations with Raleigh when he was writing the "History of the World," as a prisoner in the Tower, and while he was preparing for death at the Gate House, are worthy of more attention than they have yet received.

Meantime, I may add that Mr. Stevens is diligently engaged with his son in preparing the great collection of Franklin Papers, which has been purchased by the United States, and some of which I examined with deep interest.

I turn lastly, Gentlemen, to one more gleanings of my recent tour, which has a more peculiarly New England and Massachusetts interest, and which I shall deal with very briefly. I have here a certified copy, from Her Majesty's Public Record Office in London, of a letter dated "Boston, Massachusetts, May 22, 1634," addressed "To his honorable friend Sir Nathaniel Riche, Knight, at Warwick House in Holborne, London," and signed, "John Winthrop." It comes from the Kimbolton Papers belonging to the Duke of Manchester, who has recently deposited them for safe-keeping in the Public Record Office. It was procured for me most kindly by Mr. B. H. Beedham, of Ashfield House, near Kimbolton, who is known to some of us by more than one interesting antiquarian publication, and who is at this moment preparing for the press an account of the Clergy of Essex County, England, in 1603, from these same Kimbolton Papers. Mr. Beedham obtained the obliging permission of the Duke of Manchester to have this letter copied for me, to be printed at my discretion. It presents a picture of the condition of things here two hundred and forty-eight years ago, just four years after the arrival of the Governor and Company with the Massachusetts Charter. I am not sure that there is any thing altogether new in it, but that can be better decided when it has been published in our Proceedings, and when our experts have had an opportunity to examine it deliberately. It is, at any rate, a contemporaneous account of our small beginnings from the most authentic source.

Sir Nathaniel Rich, to whom the letter is addressed, was a kinsman, as well as a very intimate friend, of Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick of that day, and, like the Earl, he took an eager and active interest in American colonization. Two months after the date of the letter, in July, 1634, we find the following entry in Winthrop's "History of New Eng-

land": "Mr. Winthrop, the late Governour, received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, wherein he congratulated the prosperity of our Plantations, and encouraged our proceedings, and offered his help to further us." The Earl had undoubtedly just read Winthrop's letter to his relative. Sir Nathaniel was a zealous Puritan, and was said to have had great influence over the young Sir Harry Vane, when he came over here in 1635, and became Governor of Massachusetts at twenty-four years of age. He died about two years after this letter was addressed to him, owing, as Matthew Cradock "feared," when he announced the death to Winthrop in a letter from London, to the immoderate use of "an Antimoniall Cupp," one of the "Universal Medicines" of that day. I have observed within a day or two that a manuscript Life of Sir Nathaniel Rich has been presented to the New England Historic, Genealogical Society by its author, Mr. G. D. Scull, to whom we have heretofore been indebted for his interesting "Memoir and Letters" of the young Captain Evelyn, of the "King's Own" Regiment at Bunker Hill.

But the letter of Governor Winthrop shall now tell its own story, and with it I will conclude all that I have to communicate at this meeting:—

Kimbolton Papers.

Nº 421.

WORTHYE SR/.

That you are pleased amonge y^r many & weighty imployments to spende so many searious thoughts & good wishes upon us, & the worke of the Lorde in o^r hands, I must needs acknowledge it amonge other the speciall favo^rs of God towards us, & an undoubted testimony of yo^r sincere love towards us: w^{ch} makes me the more carefull to satisfie yo^r desire of being truely informed of o^r estate (this beinge the first safe menes of conveyance since I received yo^r in October last): you may please therefore to understand that first, for the number of o^r people, we never took any surveigh of them, nor doe we intend it, except inforced throughe urgent occasiō (Davids example stickes somewhat wth us) but I esteeme them to be in all about 4000: soules & upwarde: in good healthe (for the most pte) & well provided of all necessaries: so as (throughe the Lords speciall providence) there hath not died above 2: or 3: growne psons, & about so many children, all the last yeare, it beinge very rare to heare of any sicke of agues or other diseases, nor have I knowne of any quartan ague amonge us since I came into the cuntrye; For our subsistence heere, the menes hetherto hath bene the yearly accesse of new comers, who have supplied all o^r wants for cattle, & the fruits of o^r labours as boorde, pale, smithes work &c: if this should faile then have we other meanes w^{ch} may supplie us, as

fishe, viz, codd, basse & herringe, for w^{ch} no place in the world exceeds us, if we can compasse salt at a reasonable rate; o^r grounds likewise are apt for hempe & flaxe & rape seeds & all sorts of roots, pumpins & other fruits, w^{ch} for tast & wholesōenesse far exceede the same in Englande, o^r grapes also (wherewth the countrye abounds) afforde a good harde wine. Our ploughes goe on wth good successe, we are like to have 20: at worke next yeare: o^r lands are aptest for rye & oats. Our winters are sharpe & longe, I may reckon 4: monthes for storering of cattle, but we find no difference whither they be housed or goe abroad: o^r sumers are somewhat more fervent in heat then in England. Our civill govern^t is mixt: the freemen choose the magistrats everye yeare (& for the present they have chosen Thos Dudly Esq^r Governo^r) & at 4: Courts in the yeare 3: out of each town (there being 8 in all) doe assist the magistrats in making of lawes, imposing taxes, & dispos^g of lands: our Juries are chosen by the freemen of everye towne, our churches are governed by Pastors, Teachers Ruling Elders & Deacons, yet the power lies in the wholl Congregatiō, & not in the Presbitrye further then for order & precedenye. For the natives, they are neere all ded of the Small Poxe, so as the Lord hath cleared o^r title to what we possesse. I shall now acquaint you wth a sad accident w^{ch} lately fell out between o^r neyghbo^{rs} of Plimouth & some of the Lorde Saye his servants at Pascot. They of P^o having engrossed all the cheif places of trade in N: E: viz Kenebeck, Penobscott, Narigancet & Conecticott, have erected tradinge houses in all of them. The Lords pinace going wth 3: men & a boy to trade at Kenebeck were forbidden, & psisting in their purposs 2: of the magistrats of Pl: viz: Jo: Alden & Jo: Howlande & about 9: more, came up to them in their pinace & sent 3: men in a canoe to cutt the cables of the Pas: pinace (her master one Hockin having given them provoking speeches) & stood in their owne pinace wth their peeces charged & ready to shoote: after they had cutt one cable, Hockin came up, & asked them if they ment to caste awaye his vessell &c. & sware wthall that he would kill him that should come to cutt the other: Whereupon (the canoe being driven away wth the strength of the streame), they tooke out him that steered her & putt in another & sent them again to cutt the other cable, w^{ch} while one was doing (for it was cutt) Hockin shott one of them in the canoe dead, upon w^{ch} one of the Pl: men out of their pinace shott at Hockin & killed him upon the place, whereupon another of Hockins company cominge up upon the decke one of the Pl: men asked Howland if he should kill him also, but he forbade him saying he feard there had been too many killed alreadye: the pinace beinge then driven on shore & in danger, the Pl: men saved her, & putt one of their owne men into her to carrye her homewards toward Pas^c. Upon the report of this we were muche greived, that suche an occasiō should be offered to o^r enemyes to reproache o^r professiō: & that suche an injurie should be offered to those hon^{ble} pso .. who for love of us & for furtherance of o^r begings here had so farre e[ngaged] themselves wth us, so as we wrote to them to knowe the truethe of the matter & whither they would advowe it: the[y] wrote to us againe relatinge the

matter in effecte as I have expressed, wth justificatiō of the facte & yet declaringe their sorrowe, that it had hapned so sadlye, otherwise then they intended: but they did not doubt but their Grant would beare them out; upon this we refuse to holde comūniō wth them till they give better satisfactiō, & havinge the s^d Alden before us, at a geñ Court, we tooke securitey of him for his forthcoming & wrote to them what & wherefore we had doone it: & upon their answeare, that themselves would doe justice in the cause we remitted him to them, as havinge no jurisdictiō in it to trye it o^r selves. All that we ayme at is that they may come to see their sinne & repente of it. W^{ch} if they shall doe, I would intreat you to intercede wth the Lords for them, that the injurie & discourtesy may be passed by, upon suche satisfactiō as they can make. I can thinke of nothinge more at p^sent to acquaint you wth; so desiringe the continuance of yo^r care & prayers for us, as we wish & rejoyce in the success of yo^r like undertakings to the Southward, I take leave & rest

Yo^rs ever to be comāded in the Lord

JO: WINTHROP.

BOSTON MASSACH^{TS} N: E:

May 22. 1634.

heere are 6: shippes lately arrived wth passengers & cattle, most of them came in 6: weekes space. we have setled a plantatiō 20: miles to the northw^d, neere Merrimacke. M^r: Parker is to be minister there.

(Address.) To his honor^{ble} friend
S^t NATHAN^L RICHE
Knight at Warwick
Howse in Holborne
London

John D. Washburn, Esq., of Worcester, and Professor Egbert C. Smyth, of Andover Theological Seminary, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. WINSOR read a review of the first volume of the projected history of the Pacific coast, by Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, of San Francisco.

The President presented, for Mr. Charles S. Kendall, a large daguerrotype of Daniel Webster, taken in 1851, for Mr. John E. Kendall, then a resident of England. As Mr. Webster died the following year, this is one of the last portraits of him taken from life. The thanks of the Society were voted for this acceptable gift.

Mr. S. L. M. Barlow sent from New York, for the Library, several provincial tax lists, and a copy of Dr. Waterhouse's History of "Kine Pox."

Dr. ELLIS presented, in the name of Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, some books and pamphlets from the library of the late Dr. Jacob Bigelow.

A letter was read from Mr. Lowell, from London, calling attention to the valuable collection of Parish Registers left by Colonel Chester, and expressing a wish that the collection might be secured for this country.

Miss E. S. Quincy presented, through Mr. Deane, a bundle of papers of Oxenbridge Thacher. These were probably found after Mr. Thacher's death, in 1765, by Josiah Quincy, Jr., who had studied in his office, and who succeeded to his business. A vote of thanks to Miss Quincy was passed for her valuable gift.

The following papers have been selected from these for printing. The first is the draft of a letter written by Thacher in 1762 to Benjamin Prat, Chief Justice of New York, and a former member of the bar of Massachusetts. The second is the draft of a petition to the King and Parliament, prepared by him but not accepted.* And the third appears to be the draft of a letter to the agent of the province in England : —

Oxenbridge Thacher to Benjamin Prat.

[1762.]

S^r

If I were writing to a gentⁿ of your rank with whom I had less acquaintance, I should think it necessary to apologize for leaving the letter with which you were pleased to honour me so long unanswered. To you it will be sufficient to say I recd it just before y^e superior court; & to that succeded Charlestown inferior, to that Ipswich, & now our own inferior court. You are well acquainted with this rotation, and (as a lover of my country I say) I hope will soon return to it. Be assured I do not flatter you at all, when I say that the expectation of your return occasions great joy among all honest citizens, whose further wish it also is y^t your return may be in season y^e [*illegible*] month. In truth we have not such plenty of honest & able men among us that we can spare those of this character to an ungratefull people who know not how to prize or treat them. I want now to give you a little sketch of y^e present state of our domestic politics, but as your favorite writer y^e author of y^e present state of Europe † says, speaking of Poland, who can penetrate into y^e politics of a country y^t hath no politics. We seem to be in y^t deep sleep or stupor y^t Cicero describes his country to be in a year or two before y^e civil wars broke out. The sea is perfectly calm & unagitated. Whether this profound quiet be the forerunner of a storm I leave to your judgment, & our brother K.'s ‡ prophetic spirit, to determine. I even hear y^t y^e press now is under y^e dominion of our great men, and y^t those printers who owe their first

* See Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," vol. iii., p. 106; Palfrey's "Compendious History of New England," vol. iv., pp. 347, 348. — Eds.

† John Campbell, LL.D., died 1775. — Eds.

‡ Benjamin Kent. See Proceedings, vol. xix. p. 147, n. — Eds.

subsistence & present greatness to y^e freedom of their press refuse to admit any thing y^r suspect is not pleasing to our sovereign lords. I will lay a guinea y^t they are bound to y^t in good behaviour, and y^t our sovereign lord y^e kings attorney * hath threatened them wth a prosecution for some past freedoms. So y^r future silence is y^e price of y^r pardon. You remember he loves, (as you use to express it,) to have his rod over a man. What occasions y^e most gaping of late, (we are not awake enough to speak,) is a charter for a new college in y^e county of Hampshire. The monarch of y^e county,† (you know it was always under regal governm^t,) took great offence at his son's being placed some years ago something lower in a class at our college than befitted y^e son of a king.‡ He therefore, & his privy council came down y^e last Sessions prepared with a petōn to incorporate a college in y^t county which they modestly said was all they desired.§ They wanted no money from y^e government to support it. A bill passed in y^e house for this

* Edmund Trowbridge. — Eds.

† Professor A. L. Perry, of Williams College, has pointed out to the editors that this was Colonel Israel Williams, of Hatfield (H.C., 1727), who commanded one of the Hampshire regiments during the French war, and was at this time a member of the Council and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was first cousin of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams College. He was a loyalist and was appointed a mandamus councillor in 1774, but never took the oath. "Though old and infirm," says Sabine, "he was visited by a mob at night, taken from his house, carried several miles, and put into a room with a fire, when the doors and the top of the chimney were closed and he was kept several hours in the smoke. On being released he was compelled to sign a paper dictated by his tormentors. The circumstance did not escape Trumbull's caustic pen; and he asks in 'McFingal,' —

" 'Have you made Murray look less big,
Or smoked old Williams to a Whig?'"

Colonel Williams died in 1788, aged seventy-nine. His manuscript papers are in the Society's possession, and show his deep interest in the proposed Queen's College. Among them (ii. 177) is a draft of a charter by the Governor incorporating "Israel Williams, John Worthington, Oliver Partridge, Elijah Williams, Josiah Dwight, and Joseph Hawley, Esqs., and the Revs. Stephen Williams, David Parsons, Jonathan Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Hopkins, and John Hooker, ministers of the gospel," as President and Fellows of Queen's College in New England. See "Williams Genealogy," p. 197; Sabine's "Loyalists," vol. ii. pp. 435, 436; Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. ii. pp. 105-112, 464-479; Peirce's do., p. 274; Tyler's "History of Amherst College," p. 13. — Eds.

‡ John Williams, the son referred to, graduated at Harvard in 1751, and is placed in the catalogue, then disposed, not alphabetically, but by the social rank of the members, fourteenth in a class of thirty-five. His brother William, who graduated at Yale College in 1754, is fourth in a class of sixteen. — Eds.

§ From a letter from Williams to the Hon. William Smith, of New York, afterward chief justice of that province, it appears that the first design was to have a royal charter, but on learning "your opinion that 'a charter from Mr. Bernard under the Massachusetts constitution would not be good,' we immediately determined to press on a petition to the whole legislature. Accordingly one was prepared. When I went to court, soon after, I waited upon Governor Bernard and let him know our design, your opinion, and that Mr. Gridley was of the same. He freely and fully went into a consideration of the affair and expressed himself entirely pleased with the proposal . . . but as to the charter he was of opinion he had a right to give one as the king's representative, and that it was a royal right reserved in the crown which by the charter the king had

purpose but was rejected at y^e board. In y^e situation the governor* granted a charter himself by his own single authority. This alarmed both houses; they chose a committee to wait on y^e governor, to desire he would recall y^e charter. At last y^e overseers of our college waked enough to have a meeting on y^e subject. There it was y^t your old friend Summa † was put to his trumps. You know he is y^e idol of y^e clergy: you know also y^t he is in a strict alliance, offensive & defensive, with the monarch of H[ampshire] & his dominions. The only card he had to play was to delay y^e question. This he played pretty dextrously. He magnified y^e abilities & y^e interest of y^e Hampshire members, intimated it would be dangerous to offend them, suggested that measures should be taken to quiet them & perswade y^m to give up. In vain for at three o'clock, (to which time from ten o'clock y^e govern^r & Summa had prolonged y^e debate,) it was voted to choose a committee to prepare reasons against y^e s^d college. This was accordingly done, y^e remonstrance prepared and preferred to y^e governor, and he has given a gracious answer promising to vacate y^e charter, & I believe he will keep his word; for your honest old friend Lyman ‡ assures us y^t y^e project is as much disliked in Hampshire as it is here. Thus y^e remonstrances of his proper subjects, may reach y^e ear of the monarch, and he may give leave to y^e gov^r to keep his word. I very often think of y^e saying of Nepos, *prudential quondam esse divinationem*; & with respect to you we daily see many of your predictions accomplished respecting the connections & discords of our politicians, corksomen, plebeian tribunes, &c., &c. Your old client & friend Palinurus, § he y^t from handling y^e broad ax hath been called to guide y^e helm of y^e commonwealth, retains his honesty & his usefulness. The g^r pays him great court, hath made him a justice of y^e quorum, consults him ab^t arduous affairs of state, & seems to retain him in his councils as a balance to Summa for whom sound reason & discretion require him to find a balance if he does not mean to be wholly weighed down himself. Now as to our own brotherhood, I wish y^e two sentences with which you took leave of us at Dedham, had made a more durable impression, to wit let brotherly love continue and forsake not y^e assembling yourselves together &c. || I cannot be more explicit here. *Festina, festina inquam*. Come yourself, & dispell all clouds, whatever other variant & inconsistent interest & factions are among us. We shall unite on your return, & make you y^e head of y^e union as you were y^e former of it.

never given away." Williams Papers, vol. ii. p. 181. Dartmouth College and the College of New Jersey were incorporated by charters issued by the respective Provincial Governors. Williams was greatly disappointed at what he regarded as the timidity of the Governor. See his letter to Smith, *supra*. — Eds.

* Bernard. — Eds.

† Probably Thomas Hutchinson, at this time Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor. He was very intimate with Williams. — Eds.

‡ Phineas Lyman, of Northampton (Y.C., 1738), a prominent lawyer of Western Massachusetts. He died in 1774. — Eds.

§ Perhaps Thomas Flucker, member of the Council, 1761–1768, who was made a justice of the quorum, Nov. 12, 1761. In 1770 he became the last Secretary of the Province, and, in 1774, a mandamus councillor. He died in London in 1783. See Sabine's "Loyalists," vol. i. p. 428. — Eds.

|| See Proceedings, vol. xix. p. 146. — Eds.

*Thacher's Draft of an Address to the King and Parliament.**

To the king's most excellent majesty, the (*right honble*) Lords spiritual & temporal, & the honble house of commons in Parliament assembled. We your Majesty's most loyal & dutifull subjects, the representatives of the province of the Massachusetts bay, beg leave to address your Majesty, in your grand council of Parliament, humbly trusting in y^r. royal clemency & goodness, & encouraged thereto by many statutes, (*and*) particularly that of first of William & Mary, [St. 2] chapter [2], declaring it to be the right of the subject so to petition.

It is now about one hundred & forty four years, since our ancestors emigrating from great Britain, first began to plant & inhabit this your Majesty's territory. The greater part of this time, they have been encompassed by savage Indians, who spirited by the neighbouring French, have been in almost (*perpetual?*) continual wars with us, and have frequently desolated whole countries in one campaign.

Yet our ancestors and we have born this heavy weight, and the other innumerable toils & hardships of colonizing. Nor have our efforts been confined to meer defence: In former and in later times this colony hath at it's own expence, fitted out armaments, by which the territories of the enemies of the British empire have been subdued, and those of your Majesty (*'s territory?*), besieged by your enemies, been defended & secured.

We have been encouraged to undergo these great toils, by royal charters of your Majesty's predecessors & the hopes of enlarging the British empire, and of transmitting the sacred rights of British subjects to our latest posterity. And of all your Majesty's subjects, none more truly rejoice in beholding the British glory, raised to it's present height than the inhabitants of this province who have chearfully contributed their blood and treasure to (*these great conquests*) the acquisitions of the late war.

We find ourselves at the happy conclusion of the war, by our great exertions in it, involved in an heavy load of debt which it will take us many years with all the resources in our power to clear ourselves of.

(Here we must humbly observe to your Majesty)

That the sums annually required in the course of the late war being much greater than could be raised on your Majesty's subjects in each year: we were constantly obliged to borrow large sums at an high interest, and to secure the payment thereof to the lenders, to anticipate and mortgage the standing revenues of y^e government which consist of a tax on all polls & all real and personal estates within the province, an impost being certain duties on shipping, and an excise on all spirituous liquors.

* The erasures and corrections are printed in italics in parentheses. — Eds.

We cannot therefore conceal our grief to find by a late statute, entitled an act for granting certain Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, &c, such duties laid & regulations established as must not only deprive us of all these resources but must finally destroy our trade, & as we humbly conceive deprive us of the most essential rights of Britons.

(Possessed as we have been with the utmost loyalty to your Majesty; and conscious to ourselves of none but the most dutifull sentiments of our mother country; we are greatly at a loss to conceive by what we have demerited so much, as by one act, unrepresented and unheard, to be thus disfranchised & ruined.)

The duties laid by the said act interfere with the impost & excise acts, nor can we continue these if the said duties are exacted, *(nor can)* and consequently the public security the creditors of this province have, is thereby destroyed. *(Nor will your Majesty's subjects here, after their trade is so much burthened by y^e several regulations of the s^d act, be able to raise the sums needfull by the poll tax. Whence we greatly fear even a total bankruptcy.)*

Further the high Duty on Foreign sugar & molasses must soon destroy our Trade to y^e Foreign Islands, without which Branch of Commerce our Fisheries *(must be destroyed)* cannot be supported, and the many other new regulations, introduced or new enforced by the said act, must so abridge & discourage our trade, as that the province will be utterly unable to pay its public debts; whence must soon arise a general bankruptcy, and whenever this happens the inhabitants of the kingdom of great Britain will, we fear, be great sharers in our calamity.

With respect to a general stamp *(tax)* duty, we beg leave to observe to your Majesty that in y^e time of the late war, being driven by want of money to every expedient, we in this province once made such an act. But we found it so burthensome to your Majesty's subjects, and it was so generally complained of, that it was laid aside & hath never since been revived. The people of this province that are distant from the metropolis, are settled in very sparse manner *(none)* few contiguous, *(nor have much occasion for y^e instruments charged with stamps.)* When therefore they were obliged to make use of y^e instruments charged with y^e stamps, they must travel forty or fifty miles or more, to get their instruments stamped *(and many other income — when y^e had performed y^e journey, perhaps y^e minds of y^e parties would be changed & there would be no occasion for them.)* This was so heavy a tax on the greater part of the province, as by universal consent, they chose to borrow money on high interest, to submit to what we call a dry tax, that is a tax on all real & personal estate, & on all polls; and to have this increased rather than be longer under so heavy a duty. *(The situation of this province is, in this respect, vastly different from that of the Kingdom.)* It was really estimated, that for every sixpence brought into the treasury this way, the subject must pay eighteen pence. Besides, it was found y^t this tax lay heaviest on y^e poorer sorts and those least able to bear that or any other tax.

(We must add that if these duties are laid on us, your Majesty's subjects here will be unable to pay the taxes of the government here or any other taxes, the creditors of the governm^t)

We beg leave to add y^r these duties, joined to the other fore mentioned will exhaust the province of all it's money, and it will be utterly incapable of paying it's public debts, of bearing the charges of it's domestic governm^t, & the subjects here of paying y^r debts to y^r Majesty's subjects in great Britain.

But we must further humbly represent to your Majesty that we look upon those duties as a tax, and which we humbly apprehend, ought not to be laid without the representatives of the people affected by them.

We have learned from the laws of our mother country, and from many the most public & solemn acts; to consider y^e rights of Britons as sacred & inviolable. And we cannot conceive that the colonists have forfeited them by their emigrating a thousand leagues, subduing immense forests, filled with savage beasts & men, to the British obedience, protecting at their own expence the British subjects at y^r great distance from the capital, & thereby enlarging the British empire & commerce. Now we have ever supposed this to be one essential right of British subjects, that they shall not be subjected to taxes which, in person or by representative, they have no voice in laying. In this conclusion we have been fortified by the practise of the English Parliaments in former and later times, which have ever vindicated this right, and have never laid any duty or tax on the subjects of Ireland, though that hath ever been deemed & acknowledgeth itself to be a dependent Kingdom.

May it please your Majesty

Your faithfull subjects in this province reap no other benefit from the conquest & ceding of Canada, than the joy they have in beholding the glories of your reign encreased: and the security, while that country remains subject to your Majesty, from the bloody incursions of an hostile power. Our commercial interests are no way benefitted hereby, our lands are much fallen in y^r value & we are even not so able, *(nor are we so able)* to bear our taxes *(than)* as if that were still subject to y^e French.

We *(must)* beg leave to add that it is not only by the imposition of these duties, that we apprehend our British rights affected: but also in the powers therein given to courts of admiralty. We have been taught to consider the privilege of being tried by juries as a most essential British right, and the common law of England as the common birthright of every subject. And we read in the British history, the resentments of the high court of Parliament, as well as that of the King's common law courts, whenever *(that)* the court of admiralty hath attempted to enlarge it's jurisdiction, and to try matters that were not of a maratime nature. *(We)* The colonies have experienced much of the arbitrary & oppressive nature of *(that)* Provincial courts of Admiralty heretofore & of late *(in y^r province)*. Particularly in this, the judg's *(hath assumed to himself in some of them)* have assumed to

themselves a fee of five per cent, on all seizures condemned, we know not by what law or authority. Here is a perpetual incentive to condemn, (*which hath never failed of it's effect*) and (*could*) were your Majesty and your high court of Parliament, (*be well*) fully informed of the manifold grievances suffered by the colonists from these courts, we cannot think we should be longer subjected to them (*you would subject even y^e greatest rebels to whom you had given their lives to them.*)

Besides, as there is a clause in this act, enabling the commanders of the king's ships to seize and to carry the cause to any court of admiralty that may be appointed for all America, we can really hold none of our property secure. For if these new officers, who are not supposed to be knowing in law, shall seize any of our goods the most legally imported & subject to no kind of forfeiture, they may carry the trial of the cause to a thousand miles distance, where the claimer for mere want of ability cannot follow it. These officers are the more formidable to us, by means of another clause in the said act, which alters the law in America and indemnifieth these officers for seizing, however unjustly and how much soever the claimant hath expended in defence of his property: whenever the judge of admiralty will certify that there was probable cause (*cause which if we may judge of the future by the past he will never fail to do.*)

Thus, most gracious sovereign, we lay before your Majesty and your grand council, our humble complaints, which we are constrained to do from a principle of justice to our constituents & ourselves: and we humbly entreat they may be favourably considered.

Our ancestors & we have been profuse of our blood and treasure in the British cause, and we shall be ever ready to show on every fitting occasion our warm attachment to your Majesty and the nation under your happy government. (*And could it possibly be that the revenue could need our assistance; we nor our constituents would desire to withhold it. But we must & ought to claim those.*) Nor do we in the least desire that any trade inconsistent with y^e real good of the nation should be in the least connived at or favored. But we must & ought to claim those rights & privileges that being born Britons are inherent to us.

Wherefore on the whole we humbly pray your Majesty, and your high court of Parliament, will be pleased to consider the premises and grant us relief therein.

Thacher's Draft of a Letter to the Provincial Agent in London.

S^R

Agreeable to our commission from the two houses, copy whereof we have sent you, we now forward the enclosed, which contains as briefly as we could well draw it an account of the various exertions and expences of this province from it's first beginning to y^e present time. It

will abundantly appear from it that this province hath had it's full share of the burdens of the British empire, that by it's own representatives it hath ever chearfully submitted to the heaviest taxes it was any how capable of bearing. (*Whence we conceive it equitably follows that we do not need, in the new and extraordinary manner proposed, to have our property taken from us for the support & security. It will we hope be of use to you, if you should be called upon by y^e ministry to defend us on this quarter.*)

The province finds itself greatly exhausted by these exertions and it will be with (*great*) the utmost difficulty we shall clear the heavy load of debt the last war has involved us in, though no new burdens were brought upon us, and our trade were left to it's natural course. But if the severe regulations of y^e late act are continued and new taxes laid on us, these will drain us of all our specie, the sinews of trade, and otherwise so distress us that we shall neither be able to pay the public debt we owe as a community, nor individuals what they owe to y^e merchants of great Britain, a general bankruptcy public and private must ensue.

It is our desire that you should be furnished with every argument that may (*help to ward off y^e great calamity possess the ministry & the parliament with*) be of any service in an affair so interesting to (*us*) y^s & all y^e colonies (*and the two houses, not to say to y^e parent state all. If you should be called upon to show what y^e province hath done for y^e public service, the enclosed will furnish you with an answer. And we doubt not you will make the best use of it.*) And we greatly depend upon your care & vigilance to make y^e best & properest use of every thing sent you

We are S^r

Y^r most hble Serv^{ts}

Enclosure.

1746. His late Majesty proposed an expedition against Canada, with which y^e province most readily complied, & kept their forces on foot all y^e summer, & till sometime in November, before they had news that y^e expedition was laid aside. (*It is true the men were paid by the crown, but many expences were incurred by y^e province in the cloathing &c^a which were wholly lost to them.*)

In the short interval of peace that followed the treaty of Aix la chapelle, was perpetually interrupted by y^e French making new (*exch*) encroachments, building new forts, & surrounding y^e colonies on all sides So that in

1754. This province judged it necessary to raise, about 800 men, (*a good number of men*) to be marched to the Eastward and there to build a fort at about an [*blank*] miles from the mouth of Kennebeck river, in the Indian rout from Canada. The cost of this expedition was thirteen thousand seven hundred & eighty two pounds, four shillings and three pence proclamation

money, and the building and supplying the fort was six thousand, five hundred & sixty seven pounds, eighteen shillings & one penny.

1755. This province, with y^e other new England governments & New York, formed an expedition against crown point, commanded by S^r William Johnson. Then it was that y^e memorable battle was fought, near lake George, in which the French general Dieskau was taken prisoner & y^e French totally routed. The cost of y^e expedition to y^e province, was one hundred & four thousand, two hundred & fifty two pounds, sixteen shillings & eleven pence. In y^e same year, by forces chiefly raised in y^e Massachusetts, tho' paid by the crown, fort Beau sejour was taken, and the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were removed and distributed among the (*other*) English colonies. This was a most happy step (*in the war as it was remo.*) but it was a source of great expence to y^e province who, for sometime (*bore*) at y^e common expence, (*then*) supported those sent here, and after they had resided here two or three years, parcelled them out among the several towns in y^e province, and they have been & still remain an heavy bill of charge to y^e province.
1756. The next year, war being declared, the province hoped to finish y^e work begun the last year, and raised a mighty armament, (*which*) commanded by general Winslow, which would probably have subdued that fort if that gentleman had been allowed to proceed with his army. But he was commanded, by the King's general, to keep himself entrenched at lake George, & act only on y^e defensive. The cost to y^e province y^e year was ninety seven thousand, five hundred & eighty two pounds, one shilling & eight pence.
1757. This year lord Loudon, intending only to act on the defensive on y^e continent, did not demand the same number of soldiers as the last year. The number demanded were raised. The expence of those men, to y^e province, was sixty six thousand, two hundred & one pounds, nineteen shillings & two pence. This year Fort William Henry was taken by y^e French, & the alarm given by that occasioned a march, of the militia of the province, toward the Frontiers, which it was expected in y^e insolence of success, the French would have attacked. The cost of this march was twelve thousand, nine hundred and eight pounds, fifteen shillings & two pence.
1758. Letters from M^r Secretary Pitt were received the beginning of y^e year, whence the province hoped for a vigorous campaign, & therefore, straining their utmost ability, raised seven thousand men for y^e service. The cost of this year was one hundred & forty thousand, two hundred pounds.
1759. The war still continuing, they (*raised more men*) expended y^e year in men raised, the sum of one hundred, seventy three thousand, five hundred & ninety pounds, four shillings & ten pence.

The next years 1760, 1761, 1762, they raised the full numbers required of them, and in the whole the cost of their expeditions, from 1755 to 1762, both inclusive, were nine hundred & forty three thousand, eight hundred and thirty nine pounds, twelve shillings & nine pence.

Besides this, the cost of scouting companies, from 1755 to 1760, both inclusive, was twenty seven thousand, four hundred and ninety six pounds & seven pence.

Besides this, they built & maintained two armed vessels for protection of their trade, the cost whereof was thirty four thousand, seven hundred & ninety five pounds, fourteen shillings & six pence.

These expences together make one million, thirty nine thousand, three hundred & ninety pounds, five shillings & four pence.

It is to be observed here that these sums, being much greater than could be raised on the people in one year, the province were obliged annually to take up large sums on interest, & some years to anticipate & mortgage the standing revenues of the government, for security to y^e lenders.

The province do not forget, they remember, and acknowledge with great gratitude, the many sums bestowed on them during the course of y^e war. Without these, it would have been absolutely impossible for them (*province*) to have proceeded in y^r levies above one or two years. But, notwithstanding these sums, they were, at y^e conclusion of the war, & still are, very much in debt; & it will take them many years, with all the resources in y^r power, to clear y^{eo} debts.

In the above estimate, the cost of many forts & garrisons on their frontiers, are not included; neither can any estimate be made of the cost to individuals by the demand of personal service. For y^e numbers raised in all these years, together being equal to the whole militia list, it hath come to y^e turn of every enlisted soldier in y^e whole militia, to serve once; and they who could not serve in person, which were much y^e greater number, were obliged to hire others, at a great premium, in their room.

And even now, the province having Indians on y^e frontiers, are obliged to keep up respectable garrisons for y^e defence of their infant settlements, though y^e Indians profess to be at peace, and we cannot charge them with any inimical intentions.

Such is y^e breif state of the services & exertions of y^a province since it's beginnings. The sum in y^e country granted by y^e king of great Britain to his subjects, & included also in grants made by y^e French king to his subjects, was, in y^e very nick of time, settled by y^e subjects of the former; & from small beginning, thro innumerable toils, hardships & sufferings, a rude desert is become a well peopled & fruitfull plantation. From (*their*) it's first infancy to (*the*) it's present age of puberty, this colony with (*very little*) no expence to y^e crown, hath defended the territory granted to it, (*hath always defended & secured*) hath ever been ready to afford it's utmost help, when the Kings service called, hath actually made divers valuable conquests for the crown, &, by it's great exertions & expences, has impoverished and enfeebled

itself, so as it will not in many years recover the athletic state it was in y^e beginning of y^e last French war.

It is not intended, (*that*) by any thing here said, to derogate from y^e merits of the other colonies. All have had their share in these great conquests; a defection in any one of them would have been fatal to y^e common cause. And without the joint & united vigor of the whole so much could never have been accomplished as this age hath seen happily effected.

Nor do the Massachusetts desire to be distinguished from y^e other colonies, by any new grants and indemnities, nor are seeking any further rewards. They desire only that y^e privileges of their ancestors, purchased so dearly, and they have never forfeited, may be continued to them. And being conscious to themselves of y^e entire loyalty to his most excellent Majesty, & dutifull respects to y^e parent state, they trust the wisdom & justice of y^e nation will leave them in possession of all the rights privileges & immunities which y^e subjects of great Britain do & ought to enjoy.

Schedule attached to the above.

The Cost of the Several Expeditions viz^t

1755	104252.16.11	
1756	97582. 1. 8	
1757	66201.19. 2	
1758	140200.	
1759	173590. 4.10	
1760	185854.18.10	
1761	86157.11. 4	
1762	90000.	943839.12. 9

The Charge of building & maintaining Two

Armed Vessells	34795.14. 6
The Alarm	12908.15. 2
The Kennebeck Expedition	13782. 4. 3
Fort Hallifax build ^d & supplies	6567.18. 1

Scouting Companies viz^t

in 1755	4698. 6. 6	
1756	7179.14. 8	
1757	7680. 6. 3	
1758	4004. 9. 7	
1759	3118.18. 5	
1760	814. 5. 2	27496. 0. 7

1039390. 5. 4

The Recording Secretary stated that he had received from Captain G. V. Fox an official notice of his removal from the Commonwealth, and the consequent termination of his membership.